Low Cost Empire
Interaction between the Portuguese and Local Societies in Asia

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Portuguese interaction with local societies in Asia cannot be analysed as a general pattern from a Eurocentric point of view. It depended largely on local conditions, which imposed different political and social configurations. The Portuguese presence in Asia varied from key port enclaves – in the Persian Gulf, on the Western Coast of India, in the Gulf of Bengal, Southeast Asia and the Far East – to large extensions of territories, as in Ceylon between 1590s and 1630s. This meant permanent confrontation with completely different powers, political cultures and social contexts.

This article argues that from the very start, the structural deficit of capital and human resources in the *Estado da Índia* imposed the creation of local networks that combined "white" and "black" *casados* (married European and converted native people). This ethnic mixture, which was not exclusive to the Portuguese (the Dutch also mixed extensively with local people), became socially and politically important under Portuguese rule. The deficit of manpower, which was responsible for this, must necessarily be linked to the permanent shortage of capital. These two factors explain the constant policy of alliances and political treaties with regional and local powers, as well as the structural dependence on local bankers and investors, which increased after the second wave of inquisitorial repression of the new Christians of Jewish origin in 1630s.

I propose the following itinerary of analysis: first, I will criticise the "lusotropical" theory, which still frames the approaches of social interaction of the Portuguese overseas; secondly, I will examine integration policies that opposed inquisitorial repression of converted Hindus and Muslims; thirdly, I will make a detailed analysis of the conversion of natives and the creation of a mixed social "buffer", proposing new estimates of the population involved; the next point will consider how widespread racist prejudice was, before the final evaluation of the main argument in a comparative perspective.

Lusotropicalism

At a conference in Goa in 1951, Gilberto Freyre coined the notion of Lusotropicalism to designate "the world the Portuguese created in the Tropics". In previous works since the

1930s, he had pointed out the asymmetric relationship between masters and slaves, but had stressed the affection, exchange and relative harmony that existed in that type of patriarchal society, which was radically different from the cold, distant and segregated societies created by the Dutch and British in other continents. The frequency of interethnic sexual relations and the emergence of mixed race groups were considered the key to understand how the Portuguese had adapted so well to the Tropics.[1]

The Salazar regime initially regarded this theory with suspicion and distance – its ideologues were not attracted by *mestizo* societies. But in the 1950s, with the emergence of liberation movements in Africa, the political elite of the *Estado Novo* became interested in recycling this theory for its own purposes. The idea of a specifically fraternal Portuguese society in the tropics could be used as propaganda to perpetuate colonial domination. Gilberto Freyre accepted a voyage to the colonies organised by the Portuguese government in 1951-1952, where he saw what the authorities wanted to show him.[2] He subsequently wrote several books in which he expanded the scope of his theory on Lusotropicalism to all the Portuguese colonies.

While Freyre was being paraded by the Portuguese government in the colonies, Marvin Harris was doing fieldwork on race relations in Brazil, before moving on to Mozambique. He was the first scholar to pose a serious challenge to Freyre's theory, in both Brazil (where he found discrimination without segregation) and Mozambique (where he saw an informal social situation similar to South African apartheid). He stated that no signs of mixed society could be found in Mozambique – Freyre was inventing a society that had never existed.[3]

It is interesting to see the statistics on the colonies produced by the Portuguese state until 1970. The census of 1950 is the last to present data on race and the "civilised population" (sic). Mixed population was only significant in Cape Verde, where it reached 70% of the residents. Interethnic breeding was extremely reduced in the other colonies: 7% in São Tomé and Príncipe, 1% in Macao, 0.9% in Guinea, 0.7% in Angola, 0.5% in Timor, 0.4% in Mozambique and 0.03% in India. From a total population of nearly 12 million people in the colonies, around 170,000 were classified as mixed race. The number of white people was also interesting: 137,546, which meant 1.2% of the total population.[4] It is obvious that Gilberto Freyre was exporting a vision of a mixed society that had nothing to do with the real situation in the Portuguese colonies.

The classification of "civilised people" is the most puzzling data from this census. The people of Cape Verde, India and Macao were all considered "civilised", while the percentage of "civilised people" among the natives of São Tomé and Príncipe was 69%,

with 1% in both Angola and Timor, and just 0.1% in Mozambique! The criteria could not be education, because illiteracy levels then stood at 79% of the population of Cape Verde, and 78% of the population in Goa, Daman and Diu. Hence, racial prejudice was clearly an issue in this classification, not to mention the implicit admission of the failed Portuguese "civilising mission" in the colonies.[5]

In the 1950s, the political issue of the colonies was still a taboo in Portuguese society. With the exception of the Communist Party (whose anti-colonialist line was only defined in its 1957 congress) and residual anarchist groups, all the republican and socialist opponents to the Salazar regime were in favour of maintaining the colonies, which were considered part of the "national patrimony".[6] This explains why the report by Orlando Ribeiro, a brilliant geographer sent to the Portuguese colonies in India in 1955-1956, was only published in 1999. He made extensive enquiries in the villages around Goa, in the city itself and in the Portuguese colonies on the west coast of India, conducting serious research into human geography with the most advanced techniques available at that time. His report, written in 1956 and addressed to Salazar, bluntly expressed his surprise at the fact that people were so radically untouched by Portuguese culture. The Muslim community was important in Daman and dominant in Diu, while around Goa he observed a Hindu society that could not speak Portuguese. Only in Goa did he observe some influence from Portuguese culture, but he found very few descendants of mixed race. Rather, the majority of the population was Hindu and had occupied the administrative posts since the end of discrimination in 1910.[7]

This debate was only introduced in historiography by Charles Boxer's book on *Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire, 1415-1825*, published in 1963.[8] Boxer's honest inventory of historical facts, colony by colony, raised the indignation of Portuguese official (and even some unofficial) historiography and led to the scholar being politically blacklisted. Only in the final period of the *Estado Novo* were books published on the civil status of native peoples in the colonies, on forced labour and on state privileges of chartered companies.[9]

This line of research on contemporary history has been quite fruitful, but social history from the early modern period has still remained largely neglected. The world of the *casados* has been surveyed in general terms, not always adopting the best criteria,[10] the role of local agents has been the subject of specific studies[11] and ethnic communities have been described to a certain extent.[12] But we still find a dominant influence of Lusotropicalism, now a mildly consensual ideology among the political elite on the special relations between the Portuguese and local peoples, and one which is curiously comforted nowadays by the fashionable *mestizo* world. Specific studies on *mestizo*

societies, like the Mexican case, are extremely important, but I have serious doubts about the projection of those studies to different social contexts.

The purpose of this article is to challenge the idea of a general pattern of interaction with local societies, seen from the Portuguese (or Brazilian) point of view. We have different patterns, defined by the needs, possibilities of action and frameworks developed by local societies. The way in which they assimilated and, to a certain extent, manipulated the Portuguese presence is one of the key approaches to understanding interethnic exchange. The impact of Portuguese political and administrative structures is another issue that must be considered. The reconstitution of the links between Portuguese and local agents – merchants, bankers, artisans, sailors, officials, translators, diplomats – mostly Hindu but some Muslim, is an important step in understanding how open Portuguese society in Asia was at different times and in different spaces. But we need to evaluate the real exchange that took place in different societies, the real dimension of mixed race groups, and the interregional networks they developed. Even the process of evangelisation has to be under scrutiny, because the apparent integration of thousands of people was followed by suspicion and inquisitorial repression. The comparison with the social practices of the British and the Dutch empires in this area is also crucial. In sum, this article seeks to understand the different dimensions of the process of interaction between Portuguese and local populations, which is more complex than the simple analysis of access to administrative posts, contracts, religious orders and military careers.

Integration

The Maratha poem *Konkana-Akhyana*, written around 1721, reflected historical legends spread among the Brahmans of Goa. It noted that a certain Madd Poi, a major gancar (landlord) of Verna, Salcete, invited Afonso de Albuquerque to conquer Goa.[13] This name was never mentioned by the sixteenth-century Portuguese chroniclers, but they referred to another Brahman, Timoja, who asked Afonso de Albuquerque to conquer the city on behalf of the main Brahmans of Goa.[14] Albuquerque's biography, written by his son, refers to a letter from the sultan of Bijapur, where he stated that the Hindus had delivered Goa to the Portuguese.[15] Albuquerque certainly maintained a close relationship with the Brahmins of Goa, whose privileges were confirmed. When Albuquerque was expelled from the city by the troops of Bijapur, several Brahmins took refuge in his ships and helped him to re-conquer the city. Among the captains who helped Albuquerque, the Portuguese chroniclers registered the names of Janum and Mai Naique, this last one a Maratha and the brother-in-law of Timoja. Krishna, another powerful Brahmin, who had followed Albuquerque since the first conquest of Goa, became the *xabandar* (captain

of the port[16]), a major *tanadar* (captain of indigenous troops) and the broker of the horse trade. He also played an important role as a diplomat for the Portuguese governors until the 1540s, and was an important warrior, commanding a thousand men. He was knighted in 1536 by the captain of Goa, in recognition of his military success against the troops of Adil Shah, which had invaded Salcete. During the same period, several Marathas from Goa, among them Gorca Naique and Malu Naique, were involved in the battles against Suleiman Agá. What is important here is to stress how the Portuguese depended on local support to conquer territory or to maintain dominion, and how the local allies represented themselves as having invited or, better, mobilised the Portuguese for their own purposes.

The Portuguese ethnic and religious policy relied on alliances with local "heathens" and on a constant struggle against the Muslims, a pattern defined by the Christian re-conquest of Iberia. But several Muslims can be found in the service of the Portuguese power. The first one in India was Coje Bequii, a Muslim from Calicut, who served the successive Portuguese captains and governors since Pedro Álvares Cabral and received indemnities from King Manuel in 1518 before going back to India.[17] Another famous Muslim in Portuguese service, Issuf Tanadar, was the captain of the indigenous troops of Goa in the final battle against Suleiman Agá. In turn, Ahmad Sarang was an active diplomat for the Portuguese to the local authorities of the Mogul Empire in Pondá from the 1670s until the 1710s. Likewise, Ismail Khan, captain of the indigenous troops and active in the Portuguese *Estado da Índia* in the 1740s and 1750s, was another important ambassador.[18]

Local Jews were also involved in the Portuguese expansion. Gaspar da Gama, *xabandar* of the Sabaio of Goa, served Vasco da Gama, Pedro Álvares Cabral, Francisco de Almeida and Afonso de Albuquerque as an informer and diplomat. He later converted to Christianity and became a knight in the household of King Manuel. In the last quarter of the 16th century, another Jew, Coge Abraham, who apparently did not convert to Christianity, served as a diplomat under several governors, namely to the court of Ahmadanagar. He also followed the embassy of Adil Shah to Lisbon in 1575 and negotiated the treaty between the *Estado da Índia* and Adil Shah in 1582.[19]

Equally, the Parsees participated to a certain degree in Portuguese diplomacy. Rustom Manock, a rich and influential Parsee from Surat and the founder of the well-known Seth family in Bombay, represented the three European nations (the Netherlands, England and France) in Surat during the 1680s, and became a local agent of the Portuguese in 1691, maintaining this position until he died in 1721.[20]

Persecution

The coexistence of Christian and Hindu religions in the *Estado da Índia* was disrupted in the middle of the 16th century. In 1546, the Portuguese king prohibited "gentile" feasts and rituals, Hindu temples and "idols" were to be destroyed, and non-Christians were excluded from the administration.[21] In 1550, the king, viceroy and bishop insisted that Hindu temples should be destroyed everywhere in the *Estado da Índia*, an order that the captain of Bassein promptly executed.[22] In 1557, "gentiles" were excluded from all legal and financial offices in the *Estado da Índia* – a decision that was reinforced in 1559.[23] In 1558, the mosque in Daman was profaned after Viceroy Constantino de Bragança occupied the city.[24] In the same year, the king decided that the slaves of "unfaithful" people would be liberated without ransom if they converted to Christianity.[25] In 1559, the king again forbade "heathen" ceremonies and ordered the destruction of all temples and "idols" in the territories of Goa.[26] He also decreed that native orphans should be taken from their families and educated as Christians.[27] Also in 1559, the king decreed that converted natives would enjoy the same privileges as the Portuguese inhabitants of Goa,[28] while another law tried to protect the converted natives from being excluded from inheritances, as practiced by their Hindu relatives.[29] In 1560, the viceroy ordered the expulsion of a group of Brahmins who opposed the conversion of natives to Christianity – a decision that was renewed and extended to other "gentiles" in 1563 – and forbade the ritual burning of widows.[30] In 1561, converted natives were excluded from paying tithes for fifteen years.[31] In 1565, the Jews were expelled from the *Estado da Índia* under threat of enslavement.[32] In 1571, the king forbade enslaving the Japanese because it would damage the efforts being made to convert them.[33] In 1575, "heathen" contractors were forced to cease their activities and transfer their obligations to Christians,[34] and in 1580, Hindu temples were closed in Bardez and Salcete, a decision that was extended to all territories of the *Estado da Índia* in 1581.[35] In 1582, the job of translator was reserved for native Christians.[36] In 1583, the king decided to give the inheritance of dead Hindus without male descendants (which would otherwise be confiscated by the royal treasury) to their wives and daughters if they converted to Christianity.[37] In 1612, the privileges enjoyed by Goa's inhabitants were restricted to new converts, excluding their descendants.[38] Finally, in 1633, the Hindus were expelled from the province of Salcete[39].

It is true that this immense legislation, aimed at excluding Hindus and promoting newly converted natives, was not fully implemented. Moreover, the consequences of the legislation were much more visible in Goa than in other Portuguese fortresses and territories: the distance between the centre and the periphery made the difference, as did the size of the Portuguese communities and their political power. In Mozambique, the Portuguese never aimed to impose their religion outside two or three of the stronger forts. In Macao, the Portuguese lived under the informal Chinese protectorate until the

19th Century – the religious situation was not even an issue. In the "Northern Province" (Daman, Bassein, Bombay, Tana, Chaul) the situation was more ambiguous, due to the predominantly rural nature of the area, where there were no conditions to proselytise. In Diu, there was a compromise with the twin Muslim city since the very beginning. The same reasoning can be applied to Hormuz, while Malacca never reached the same levels of religious intolerance seen at the headquarters of the *Estado da Índia*. Ceylon was the only territory outside the Goa region where the Portuguese developed their policy of religious conversion on a large scale, a subject that should be analysed in greater depth, since the campaigns to identify propriety and register land reveal many more converted natives than might be expected. This diversity of political situations and processes of integration is one of the main issues in this paper. But it is striking how privileges of citizenship in Goa were extended to converted natives and access to public posts and contracts was promoted among native Christians.

It is precisely the contradiction between such policies of integration and the persecution of heresies that is at stake when analysing the activity of the Inquisition in Goa, which was the only tribunal against heresies created in the Portuguese empire in 1560. Between 1567 and 1582, a huge wave of repression against the European New Christians of Jewish origin established the tribunal's position. During that time, it held 245 trials of New Christians out of a total of 609 (40%), far more than the cases against Judaism in the rest of the years between 1562 and 1623, just 63 (2%) out of a total of 2,796.[40] The economic crisis of the *Estado da India* in 1570s provided the background for this first wave of trials. The protests of governors, captains of fortresses and even religious orders helped to suspend repression, because they depended on New Christians for their financial activities. The correspondence of the inquisitors of Goa with the General Inquisitor in Lisbon made the political interference clear. The tribunal, which had spared converted Hindus until the beginning of the 1580s, immediately began their persecution.[41] This policy was very different from that of the Spanish Inquisition in America. Before establishing the tribunals in Mexico and Lima in 1569-1570, Philip II ordered that converted natives should not be persecuted for heresy, a decision that was respected. The tribunals in America never persecuted converted native-Americans, they only repressed people of European origin.

The Goa tribunal held 13,667 trials between 1560 and 1812. The annual average of trials was much higher than in other Portuguese courts: 66, compared with 42 in the Lisbon tribunal, with a peak of 99 annual trials between 1606 and 1674. The repression of converted Hindus represented more than 70% of all trials, in contrast with the repression of converted Muslims, which became more important in the last decades of the 17th century, and the repression of the European New Christians of Jewish origin, which concentrated on two moments of crisis, the 1570s and 1630s.[42] The victims of

this repression, which was unusually severe compared to that of all the other tribunals of the Inquisition in the world, were not confined to Goa. From the 1580s on, there were regular visits, ordered by the General Inquisitor, to all the Portuguese territories of the *Estado da India*, as well as inspections of the tribunal.[43] Commissioners and *familiares* of the tribunal existed in all the significant territories of the *Estado da India*, even if the networks were only organised efficiently during the 17th and 18th centuries.[44] The wide geographical origin of the prisoners is indicated, for instance, by the list of trials in 1650-1651 (presumably after the *auto da fé* of April 1650), which shows sixteen from Goa, eight from Tana, three from Diu, two from Barcelor, the same number from Salcete, Chaul, Daman, Bassein, and Tarapor, one from Mozambique, and the same number from Meliapor, Cochin, Onor, Bombay, Mascate, Banda, and Negombo. The ethnic and social origin of most prisoners is also indicated (repeating the exact terms used by the inquisitors): four Curumbim, three Bengali, three Parbu, two Guzerati, two Brahman, two Sudra, two Colle, two Charodo, two Chingala, one Balala, one Cafre (sic), one Englishman. In this list, twenty-five prisoners were sentenced for Islamism (an unusually high figure for that period), fourteen for "Heathenism", six for acts against the Holy Office, four for solicitation in the confessionary, four for varied heresies, two for Protestantism, one for bigamy and one for blasphemy.[45] Far more people (184) were convicted at the auto-da-fé of 1650, with higher percentages of "Heathenism" (50%), Islamism (20%) and bigamy (13%). There were nine cases of sodomy, eight of Judaism, which means that there were still communities of New Christians after the huge repressive wave of 1630s, and six of Protestantism.[46] As can be seen, the activities of the tribunal of the Inquisition of Goa covered all the territories of the *Estado da India*, all social and ethnic groups, and the full range of "crimes" under its jurisdiction.

Christians

As is known, the Inquisition could only operate against Christians, or against others who obstructed the tribunal or the conversion policies, which were only a minor percentage of the total trials. If the tribunal turned its activity against converted Hindus, we have to clarify how many of them could legally be persecuted. As shown, 1560 was the turning point for the forced Christianisation of Goa. Despite that policy, at the beginning of the 17th century, there were still 20,000 Hindus in Goa out of a population of 75,000 people.[47] For the sake of comparison, the Portuguese numbered no more than 1,500, while slaves might have numbered 10,000. In fact, in all Asia, the number of Portuguese never exceeded 7,000, while the converted Hindus might have numbered more than 30,000 people. The maximum number of Christians in Goa could have been reached around 1580 – Couto indicated 60,000 in the city alone.[48] The decline of Goa's population during the 17th century was impressive: in 1620, there was an estimate of 3,000 houses, which

could represent a maximum of 45,000 people; by 1658, the Hindu population in the city had been reduced to just several hundred, including only a few merchants with significant capital. By 1700, the number of people living in the city was about 20,000, of whom one quarter were mulattos. To put it briefly, the percentage of Portuguese in the city at a good conjuncture, the beginning of the 17th century, represented 2% of the total. Exactly the same percentage was recorded in 1753 (1,149 white people), but in 1799 it fell to 0.3% (488 white people).[49] I do not think this percentage ever reached more than 5%, even in the best conjunctures of the 16th century.

Under these circumstances, conversion was a fast way to create dependency and allegiance, due to the symbolic breaking of previous ties. In the long run, this strategy proved to have ambiguous results, because the converted Hindus created a new system of castes within the Catholic system and maintained strong ties with their families and castes, even in other territories. This explains the constant flow of people in and out of the Portuguese territories and the constant repressive action of the Inquisition, with the obvious effect of provoking the migration of people and the transfer of capitals. Although the Portuguese depended on converts, they were always suspicious about their allegiance. In any case, this situation requires careful analysis, because the behaviour of converted natives could differ considerably from one territory to the next, depending on local factors and relational identity construction. The most striking case of faithful links is provided by the revolt against the Dutch in the Jaffna region in 1658 – immediately after the expulsion of the Portuguese – by the Christianised castes of Karaiyar and Madapalli.[50] I am only considering the political consequences of evangelisation and obviously do not deny the specific religious purposes of the missionaries under the Portuguese Patronage.

The best global estimate of the communities of *casados* (married Christians) in the Portuguese Empire in Asia was provided in 1635 by António Bocarro, general archivist and chronicler in Goa, who wrote a report to the king with extensive data on each Portuguese possession. Historians have used the report to collect data in an impressionistic way. Their attempt to draw up a global table with the available data is misleading,[51] because the source requires a critical approach that excludes literal interpretation. Like the financial sources, this kind of report resists any superficial reading, requiring openness to ambiguous formulations that can completely alter the data involved. In the Portuguese sources, *casados* were traditionally divided between "white" and "black", which meant of European origin and native origin. Accepting that the frontier between the two groups was quite blurred, the result of my analysis of Bocarro's report[52] is given in table 1.

Table 1: White and black casados in Portuguese Asia, 1635

Settlement	"white"	"black"	Settlement	"white"	"black"
Macao	850	850	Agashi	30	-
Goa	800	2,500	Sena	30	-
Daman	400	?	Kalutara	30	?
Bassein	400	200	Saibana	29	-
Colombo	350	2,000	Chipangura	25	-
Cochin	300	200	Manora	20	-
Malacca	250	?	Rachol	20	-
Chaul	200	50	Trincomalee	20	25
Nagapattinam	140	360	Tete	20	-
Jaffna	120	200	Pate/Zanzib.	20	-
São Tomé	120	200	Bombay	11	-
Thana	80	100	Mombasa	6	-
Galle	70	130	Negombo	6	-
Mannar	70	2,200	Sofala	5	-
Mozambique	70	30	Asserim	4	-
Kollan	60	100	Quelimane	4	-
Diu	59	100	San Gens	4	36
Mahim	50	150	Danu	4	46
Tarapur	50	200	Salcete	-	13,844
Cranganore	40	60	Divar	-	4,000
Cannanore	40	-	Bardês	-	3,164
Mangalore	35	?	Chorão	-	6,000
Basrur	35	-	Juam	-	1,200
Honavar	30	-	Mantota	-	1,000
Karanja	30	-	Manga	-	80
			Total	**4,937**	**39,055**

The purposes of António Bocarro (and Pedro Barreto Resende, secretary of the viceroy, who contributed the plans included in the report and wrote a parallel overview) were to evaluate the income and expenses of the *Estado da Índia*, to make an inventory of public offices and privileges managed by the state, and to estimate the number of people that the governor could mobilise inside and outside the *Estado da Índia*. It is this last aspect that is shown by this table, which charts who was recognised as a crown vassal, who enjoyed citizen status, and who benefited from the privileges of being a resident. It is very interesting to see that Bocarro included significant Portuguese communities outside the *Estado da India*, namely in the Gulf of Bengal or the Persian Gulf, in a clear indication that the authorities did not reason with the idea of frontiers in mind. There are no studies on the history of

citizenship in or beyond the Portuguese Empire, because the status of the Portuguese communities in other areas, like the Gulf of Bengal, was recognised by the Portuguese king. This is, however, essential to assess the real status of the population and to understand the processes of integration, discrimination and exclusion.

Analysis of Bocarro's data on the *casados* reveals a high rate of converted natives in most of the territories listed. Not surprisingly, converted natives were concentrated in the regions of Goa, Colombo and Macao, the clusters of the Portuguese Empire (data on "black *casados*" in Malacca is missing and there is information on many more converted natives in Northern Ceylon). The ratio of recognised converted natives to Portuguese descendants could have reached ten to one. If the number is multiplied by ten to include wives, children, converted servants and slaves,[53] this makes a total of around 390,000 converted natives in the Portuguese communities inside and outside the *Estado da India*. The same calculation may be applied to the "white *casados*", most of whom were of mixed ethnic origin and could have reached a total of 49,000. Several thousand soldiers should also be considered. The total, including the dispersed communities outside the *Estado da India*, probably reached around 450,000 Christians in East Africa and Asia during this period, excluding the figures of Japan. However, the fragility of these conversions must be taken into account: changes in the political environment could mean the disappearance of large Catholic communities, as happened in Ceylon.

The available data for the second half of the 18th Century[54] is more reliable but not comparable. There is no separate information for Goa, only aggregate data for the three provinces of the "Old Conquests" – the islands, Bardez and Salcete. The islands, which included Goa, had 58,000 people in 1753, a population which declined to 34,000 in 1799. Christians numbered around 46,000 in 1753, which meant 80% of the total. The percentage of Christians was even larger in Bardez and Salcete (91% and 96%), among a much larger population (69,000 and 70,000). In the "new conquests" (territories conquered around Goa in 1740s and 1750s), the Portuguese had to maintain a tolerant attitude towards Hindus and Muslims – and so the percentage of Christians in those territories would never have reached more than 15%. In the other Portuguese territories, the number of converted natives was much lower than in Goa and much more tolerance was shown towards other religions due to different conditions of occupation and the smaller Portuguese communities. It was a more limited universe that was subject to the actions of the Inquisition, which meant that nearly every family had a member persecuted by the so-called Holy Office.

Hindus

Considering all these efforts to convert and control natives, the number of Hindus involved in the diplomatic service of the *Estado da Índia* is surprising. Naturally,

translators (*línguas*) – many of whom were Hindus, but also Muslims and Jews – were used since the beginning to communicate with the local authorities. Hindu official translators worked at the *Estado da Índia* from the 16th to the middle of the 18th century. Certain families controlled the office of the official translator, such as the Vaga family for one century, from 1719 to 1844. These translators often acted as informers and ambassadors, like Azu Naique (sent to the Mogul emperor in 1613), Krishna Sinai (sent to the Bijapur sultan in 1646) and Ramogi Sinai Cotthari (sent to the Kanara authorities and the Mogul emperor on various occasions from 1645 to 1647), Rogunata Sinai Cotthari (sent to Shivagi in 1678), Ramacrisna Barvê (part of the Portuguese embassy to the Maratha King Sambhaji in 1684 and ambassador to King Rajaran Chatrapati in 1694), and Hari Sinai Borcar (sent as ambassador to Khema Saunto in 1699). These men were rewarded with several privileges. Ramogi Sinai Cotthari, for instance, became customs broker in Goa in 1665. The frequent wars with the Maratha confederation throughout the first half of the 18th century involved dozens of Hindu translators and ambassadors working for the *Estado da Índia*. Bogona Camotim and Vitogi Sinai Dumó negotiated the important peace treaty with the Bounsouló in 1740. The negotiations with the Nawab Haidar Ali Khan in Bednur in 1770 were led by Sada Siva Camotim Vaga, who was rewarded with an appointment as captain of the indigenous troops. Narana Vitol Sinai Dumó, ambassador of the *Estado da Índia* at the court of the Perxás in Puném in the 1770s, negotiated the important treaty of 1779.[55]

The main bankers, contractors and merchants were also Hindus.[56] During the first decade of the 17th century, they controlled 92% of all tax collection. Narsu Naique held the most profitable contract on opium taxes (paying 13,400 *xerafins* a year to the *Estado da Índia*), while the second best – the contract on textile taxes – was held by Damu Sinay (12,000 *xerafins* a year).[57] In the 1620s, the best contracts (on food imports) were controlled by Deregea Camotim, Raulu Sinay and Narsu Naique for around 20,000 *xerafins* a year, while the contract on silk and cotton textiles was held by Aria Poy and Krisna Chatim for 11,000 *xerafins*. The contract on tobacco customs, created in Goa in 1623, was also controlled by Hindus, namely Mocunda Chatim, Auto Chorim and Ganca Naique. The contract started at a price of 5,000 *xerafins* a year, rose to 9,000 in 1626, and reached 27,000 in 1687.[58] These Hindus who controlled the *Estado da Índia*'s fiscal contracts also had interests in Asian interregional trade. They had relatives and agents in other states like Maharashtra, Bijapur and Sunda, and later at the English factories in Surat or Bombay. They controlled all types of trade in Goa. In the long run, they reinforced their position due to the repression of the New Christians of Jewish origin. They had no significant competitors in Goa in the 18th century. During the Pombal period, when several administrative and economic reforms were introduced, the main Hindu financial families were the Camotim (Kamat) and the Naique, who controlled the best contracts of the state.[59]

Status

The status of the people in the *Estado da Índia*, which did not change significantly in the 17th or the first half of the 18th century, went through important developments during the Pombal period. In 1760, the king forbade the slavery of the Chinese. In the same year, the native troops of sepoys were restructured to improve their professional standards, they were equipped with the same guns as the European troops, the number of soldiers was reduced and their payment raised, while the officials, distinguished as noblemen from Brahmin or Chardós origin, were granted similar status to that of the Europeans. In the next decades, the troops of *ordenanças* – militias organised in the countryside – became professional and were brought under the control of distinguished native officials. The creation of clear rules of promotion for Brahmin and Chardós officials gave more room for social mobility. Artillery was the last arm to be exclusively reserved for Europeans. In fact, one of the main reasons behind the revolt of 1787, known as the "conjura dos Pintos", was the exclusion of natives from the artillery companies.[60] Five years later, in 1792, native soldiers would be allowed to use these weapons. In 1761, the rights of all Christian vassals born in Portuguese Asia were recognised as the same as those held by people from the metropolis, and they were considered capable of gaining access to all honours and posts. The viceroys were encouraged to give them priority in job applications, provided they were competent, and they could adopt Portuguese names by baptism. The principle of identical rights was reaffirmed in different letters and instructions sent by the king to the viceroys and expanded to include ecclesiastical positions. Even if most secular priests were converted natives or their descendants, access to the religious orders was reserved for descendants of Europeans. Opening the religious orders to natives was one of the main struggles faced by the political powers, even if it had very few results in the short term. The racial prejudices that distinguished the "white" from the "black" people in some convents, like Santa Mónica in Goa, where the two groups had different coloured veils, were forbidden by royal legislation in 1773.[61]

Racism

Racial prejudices existed from the moment that the *Estado da Índia* was founded. When the policy of mixed marriages developed by Afonso Albuquerque was challenged by the king, the governor argued that he had taken white, rich, good-looking Muslim women to marry the Portuguese, never Malabar women, who were black and had corrupt habits.[62] This statement was made despite the political alliance with the Hindus against the Muslims. The colour of the skin, a typical racist prejudice, was compounded by an additional prejudice: the caste of origin. The new community of converted natives was rapidly organised into castes, which were dominated by Brahmins, Chardós and Sudras, despite Christianity's

egalitarian principles. In the long run, converted Brahmins controlled access to minor public offices and to the secular clergy.

The issue of forming the native clergy had been at stake since the publication of the resolutions of the Council of Trent. In Goa and other main cities of the Portuguese empire in India, natives were denied access to the clergy until the 1540s and 1550s, when the governors and the religious orders, composed almost exclusively of European members, created the first schools where local members of the upper caste Brahmins could study. The effect of these schools was reduced. The third provincial council of Goa, held in 1585, criticised the lack of seminaries in India and decided to establish one in each diocese so as to train native clergymen who could instruct the natives. For a long time, the native clergy had a reduced role as assistants to parish priests who could not understand the local languages. The 17th century saw the development of the native clergy in India: in 1629, there were 300 native priests in Cranganor, while in 1656, Goa had 186 priests waiting for benefices. In 1705 there were around 2,500 native secular priests in Goa. Throughout the 18th century, they were very important in all the Catholic communities of India, replacing the European missionaries. They were quite numerous in Bombay, Ceylon and Calcutta, helping to maintain important Catholic communities after the expulsion of the Portuguese missionaries.

Despite the success of native secular clergymen, the access to the religious orders was severely restricted. The Dominicans and Franciscans opened their orders in a limited way to natives during the second half of the 16th century, but the first half of the 17th century saw a new policy of restriction. The Augustinians only accepted the first native members in 1619 and the Carmelites were still debating the issue of access to natives in the middle of the 17th century. Only the Oratorians accepted native members when they established themselves in India in 1691, playing a crucial role in some areas that the Portuguese no longer controlled, such as Ceylon. The Jesuits never accepted native Indians in their ranks in the 16th and 17th centuries. The Theatines, sent to India by the *Propaganda Fide*, resisted recruiting native members to avoid the "contempt in which the natives were held by the Europeans on account of their colour".[63] In every case, racial prejudice excluded native members from the religious orders until Pombal exerted political pressure in the 1760s.

The Society of Jesus had a different policy in Japan and in China, where they not only recruited native members to assist them in the parishes, but as full members of the order and as missionaries. In Japan, the percentage of native members of the Society rose from 27% in 1588 to 44% in 1604, only to fall again to 27% in 1620, after the persecutions. The number of Asians in the Society of Jesus, reorganised in Southeast Asia after the expulsion from Japan in 1639, rose from 28% in 1685 to 40% in 1691, but throughout

the 18th century the percentage of Asians fluctuated between 14% and 28%. The Jesuits in China had a constant number of Asian members from 1621 to 1735, averaging 28%.[64] This different treatment of Indians, Japanese and Chinese by the Jesuits, the greater or lesser degree of trust in their abilities, consistency and loyalty was associated to European racial prejudices that had grown from the 15th to the 17th century during the process of expansion. The universal knowledge that the European acquired was followed by a classification of people and cultures according to their distance or proximity to European values and standards.

The main European descriptions of cultures along the African, Asian or American coasts were defined by a certain number of stereotypes (and prejudices): a) phenotype features (mainly the colour of the skin, but also the type of hair or the constitution of the body); b) the way people dressed (pierced or painted their body); c) the way people ate (if they used some kind of cereal, for instance); d) cannibalism (the extreme case, considered beyond human nature); e) labour (or its absence); f) the "polish" or education (how they behaved, how urban they were, if they had education, written laws and justice); g) the existence of tools and industry; h) political, military and administrative organisation (the Chinese Empire was highly appreciated, in contrast to India); i) the knowledge of God.[65]

José de Acosta, who published the treatise *De procuranda indorum salute* in 1588, produced the first essay to classify the peoples of the world according to the accumulation of European prejudices. At the top of the list, he placed the Chinese, the Japanese and some of the peoples of the East Indies, classifying them as barbarians with stable government, public law, fortified cities, magistrates, trade and education. He then indicated the Mexicans and the Peruvians, who lived in cities and did not move around like beasts. They also had magistrates, government, administration, army and religion, although scarce knowledge of writing, laws and science. Finally, the people of the Caribbean were defined as beasts, owners of human feelings but without law, king, magistrates, government or stable residence. The last definition included many peoples of the world, such as those subordinated to the Mexicans and Peruvians, the people from Florida, New Granada, Brazil and Paraguay. The people of the Pacific Islands were also included in this category, defined as calm but with little wisdom, having some form of government, but lacking serious laws. In conclusion, the people from this category were naked, did not work, lived in a permanent state of war, and were cannibals.[66]

Comparison

In December 1510, immediately after the conquest of Goa, Afonso de Albuquerque claimed that several hundred Portuguese had married local women, involving a total of "450 souls".[67]

In 1650, Johan Maetsuyker, the Dutch governor of Ceylon who was still fighting the last strongholds of Portuguese resistance, reported that there were sixty-eight free-burghers married to local women, mostly of Portuguese descent. Another two hundred free-burghers married Indo-Portuguese women after the conquest of Colombo and Jaffna in 1656-1658.[68] In Batavia and Far-East Dutch factories, the existence of extended mixed families could be observed throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, and many of the offspring married senior VOC officials, including governors-general.[69] Cornelia van Nijenroode, the daughter of a geisha and a Dutch merchant in Japan, was the most amazing case of a wealthy woman who fought for her rights against her greedy second husband, a Dutch lawyer in 17th century Batavia.[70] In the last decades of the 18th century, well-known officers of the East India Company, like Major James Achilles Kirkpatrick, the British resident at the Court of Hyderabad, or General William Palmer, resident at Poona, had Indian wives and families, and shared in most native rituals, cloths, food, and habits. It is estimated that by that time, one third of the British in India had Indian wives or concubines, fathering mixed-race children.[71] Thus, the Portuguese were not the only Europeans in Asia to create mixed-race communities or establish a very intimate relationship with local societies. The difference between the European powers in Asia lay in the political status attributed to those communities.

As early as 1612, Pieter Both, the first governor-general of the East Indies, advocated mixed marriages with native women and converted Christians (Catholics) from different parts of Asia, namely Amboina. The Heeren XVII authorised the governor-general and his council to allow the settlement of so-called "time-expired" men in Asia, such as merchants, clerks, soldiers and sailors. They could trade in non-monopolised goods like rice, sago or livestock and were expected to supplement the Company's local garrisons in time of war. These free-burghers first established themselves in the Moluccas, then in Batavia, Malacca and Sri Lanka, following the course of the Dutch expansion. They were supposed to remain subordinate to the Company's rules and jurisdiction, could be authorised to marry baptised Asian women, and their children were to be educated as Christians. But the free-burghers married to Asian women were not allowed to return to Europe. In 1644, slaves, coloured people and coloured wives were forbidden to travel to Europe, a ban that was renewed in 1650 and in 1713. Even free-burghers married to European women could only travel back to Europe with personal items. In 1672, the authorities at Batavia forbade the employment of Asian office-clerks except if they had special permission – a ban that was renewed in 1715 and extended in 1718 to the descendants of Europeans. It was only in 1727 that the reverse process started: promoting Eurasians in VOC administered territories.

Although these rules indicate a segregation process until the first quarter of the 18th century, their primary purpose was to control the group of time-expired men who wanted

to go on living in Asia. They were considered potential competitors of Company officials, in terms of trade, smuggling and piracy. This kind of legislation kept free-burghers at the margins of the system, and indeed they never became an important social group. The VOC never depended on them in Java, Sri Lanka or India, because Chinese, Gujarati, Bengali and other merchant groups were much more efficient in local, regional and inter-regional trade networks. Free-burghers mainly invested in inn-keeping, which gives some idea of the reduced scale of their commercial activities. The only exception to this situation was the Cape Town colony, which operated as a supply point for the VOC navy on its way to Asia. In this case, the free-burghers mixed extensively with the local population, used slaves from East Africa – namely Madagascar – and created a solid basis of agriculture and livestock production. In the other cases where there is information on extensive mixed marriages after conquest, the group of free-burghers did not develop as initially envisaged. Even in Sri Lanka, where there was strong encouragement of mixed marriages, the community did not last for a significant period of time.[72]

The English case is more complicated because the empire in Asia was established quite late: until 1757, there was only a set of factories and forts without effective control on significant territory. Clive's policy of conquest completely changed the situation, stimulating emigration from the British Isles and further contacts with local societies. The emergence of mixed families, came quite late in comparison to the Portuguese and Dutch cases. It was considered as a private matter, tolerated and managed on an individual basis for a short period of time. Mixed families never became "communities", because the English had the capital (mostly native capital, incidentally), the manpower and the military technology to extend their political dominion in India without depending on a buffer of mixed race people. The new trend towards mixed families was immediately confronted by the emergence of racist prejudices, which became very effective in political terms by the end of the 18th century. In 1793, the decision to exclude mixed-race people from government service defined a policy of discrimination which set the course of social relations between colonisers and native people for the 19th century.[73] The creation of mixed families was significantly reduced by the turn of the century, offering a good case study of the impact of the change in values (and policies) on human behaviour.

The comparison between the Portuguese and Dutch empires in Asia merits further examination, because they were less distant in time and less alien in social and intellectual context. The entrepreneurial structure of the VOC defined a political culture that placed the group of free-burghers under constant pressure to avoid losses for the company. This permanent tension left this social group no space for the development and it remained instead on the margins of the Dutch empire. The only free-burghers who had a solid position in the different communities were senior officials who retired and decided to

continue living overseas, lent money and developed financial operations. I question the traditional vision of contrasts between the Dutch and Portuguese empires, which underlines the Portuguese ability to settle and create roots, as against the Dutch ability to trade and return home. These "essential" psychological features of both peoples simply did not exist. The Portuguese generally lived from trade, mostly when they were established outside the empire, such as in the coastal communities of the Gulf of Bengal, while the Dutch could establish themselves as prosperous landowners if they had the opportunity, as for example in Cape of Good Hope.

The key to understanding different social policies is to consider the different structural conditions of empire-building. From the very beginning, the Portuguese empire developed in spite of a structural deficit of available capital. Crown initiatives were supplemented by private merchants, mostly Italians or Germans, who benefited from the royal monopolies over inter-continental trade. But there was no private initiative to create companies which could rival the Dutch or the English in exploring overseas trade. When the crown launched such projects, they did not have enough public support or did not last long, as shown by the company of Brazil, created in 1649. The Portuguese empire could only survive in Asia if it was supported by local communities of mixed-race people. This was not only because these people met demographic and military needs, but also because they mediated with local native communities, gathering political support, information and financial resources.

The tolerance shown to the *casados* on the outskirts of the *Estado da Índia*, namely in the Gulf of Bengal or Southeast Asia, is an example of this *realpolitik*. Those Portuguese coastal communities, created by runaway soldiers, sailors, gunmen, and clergymen, could always count on the king's mercy and return to the empire, because they played an essential economic and political role in the *Estado da Índia*. This would have been unthinkable in the Dutch empire, where free-burghers who went out of line were prosecuted by the VOC's judicial structure.

We therefore have to understand two radically different configurations: one that was profit-oriented and organised through a system of salaries and rewards for share holders; another that was politically-oriented and organised through a system of concessions of privileges (to gain access to jobs, rents, lands, taxes). Naturally, the Portuguese system needed profits to function and the Dutch system remained tied to some unprofitable investments for bureaucratic reasons (as in the long-term situation in Sri Lanka). In both cases, it was normal for capital to be accumulated through archaic means such as piracy and extortion. Nevertheless, the possibilities to mobilise capital and manpower back in Europe were completely different.[74]

The Portuguese political system was also completely different from the Dutch one, as it depended on municipal councils that extended to areas not controlled by the Portuguese authorities. These municipal councils were formed by the mixed-race groups of *casados*, who provided the core social structure of the *Estado da India*. It is true that, from the beginning of the Portuguese presence in Asia, the king created the fiction that all the peoples under his dominion were to be considered as vassals.[75] Nevertheless, the effective policies developed from the 1540s on showed that only converted people would be able to reach the same formal status as the Portuguese "natives of the kingdom". This could be dismissed as another political fiction, demystified by discrimination in everyday life, but there is sufficient evidence of a consistent policy to favour converted people, even if the major bankers and investors were always Hindus. Pombal's policies in the 1760s reinforced the social status of converted natives under a notion that came close to citizenship. This notion, applied with all due caution to earlier periods, is the key to understanding the political world of the Portuguese empire in Asia.

The Dutch empire had more hierarchical structures of government, administration and justice, which were designed to protect and sustain monopolised trade to Europe – the main purpose of the company. As seen before, the Dutch had the necessary capital to invest in ships, manpower and equipment, and did not depend on mixed-race groups. Although considered useful, these groups were not allowed the political, economic and social space to develop on the same scale as the world of the *casados* did. It is these different configurations of capital structure and manpower that explain the different settlement policies and, in the long run, different trends of mixed-race realities.

Notes

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2. Yves Léonard, "Salazarisme et lusotropicalisme, histoire d'une appropriation", *Lusotopie*, 1997, pp. 211-226; *idem*, "O ultramar português", in Francisco Bethencourt and Kirti Chaudhuri (eds.), *História da Expansão Portuguesa*, vol. 5, *Último império e recentramento (1930-1998)*, Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores, 1999, pp. 31-50; Cláudia Castelo, *O modo português de estar no mundo: o luso-tropicalismo e a ideologia colonial portuguesa, 1933-1961*, Oporto, Afrontamento, 1998.
3. Marvin Harris, *Town and Country in Brazil*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1956; *idem*, "Portugal's African 'Wards'. A First-Hand Report on Labour and Education in Moçambique", *Africa Today*, V, 1958; Lorenzo Macagno, "Um antropólogo norte-americano no 'mundo que o português criou'. Relações raciais no Brasil e Moçambique segundo Marvin Harris", *Lusotopie*, 1999, pp. 143-161 (an excellent article which caused a bitter debate with Alain Morice in *Lusotopie*, 2002, pp. 365-384).
4. *Anuário Estatístico do Ultramar*, Lisbon, INE, 1959 (with the data on the census of 1950).
5. I have addressed this issue in "A memória da expansão", in Francisco Bethencourt and Kirti Chaudhuri, *op. cit*, vol. 5, pp. 442-480, especially pp. 474-475.
6. António Costa Pinto, "A guerra colonial e o fim do império português", in Francisco Bethencourt and Kirti Chaudhuri, *op. cit.*, vol. 5, pp. 63-98.
7. Orlando Ribeiro, *Goa em 1956. Relatório ao governo*, edited with an introduction by Suzanne Daveau, preface by Fernando Rosas, Lisbon, CNCDP, 1999.
8. Charles R. Boxer, *Race relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire, 1415-1825*, London, Oxford University Press, 1963.
9. José Capela, *Moçambique pelo seu povo*, Oporto, Afrontamento, 1971; *idem*, *O vinho para o preto*, Oporto, Afrontamento, 1973; *idem*, *Escravatura. A empresa de saque. O abolicionismo (1810-1875)*, Oporto, Afrontamento, 1974; *idem*, *O imposto de palhota e a introdução do modo de produção capitalista nas colónias. As ideias coloniais de Marcelo Caetano. Legislação de trabalho nas colónias nos anos 60*, Oporto, Afrontamento, 1977; António Carreira, *Cabo Verde. Formação e extinção de uma sociedade escravocrata (1460-1878)*, Lisbon, Centro de Estudos da Guiné Portuguesa, 1972; *idem*, *Angola: da escravatura ao trabalho livre*, Lisbon, Arcádia, 1977. I include some publications from after 1974 because they were written in the same period.
10. Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, "Os portugueses e o Oriente", in *Mito e mercadoria, utopia e prática de navegar, séculos XIII-XVIII*, Lisbon, Difel, 1990, pp. 375-410; Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia, 1500-1700. A Political and Economic History*, London, Longman, 1993, pp. 216-248; Maria de Jesus dos Mártires Lopes, *Goa Setecentista. Tradição e modernidade (1750-1800)*, Lisbon, Universidade Católica Portuguesa, 1996, pp. 98-121.
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13. Panduronga S. S. Pissurlencar, *op. cit.* (essential for this point).
14. João de Barros, *Asia. Segunda década*, ed. António Baião and Luís F. Lindley Cintra, Lisbon, Imprensa Nacional, 1974, livro 4, cap. V (pp. 184-185); Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, *História do descobrimento e conquista da India pelos portugueses*, ed. M. Lopes de Almeida, vol. I, Oporto, Lello & Irmão, 1979, livro III, cap. VII (pp. 211-212); Gaspar Correia, *Lendas da India*, ed. M. Lopes de Almeida, vol. II, Oporto, Lello & Irmão, 1975, pp. 50-55. Following references from these works and Diogo do Couto.
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16. It could also mean chief of his community: Sebastião Rodolfo Dalgado, *Glossário Luso-Asiático*, 1st edition 1918, reprint, vol. II, New Delhi, Asian Educational Services, 1988, pp. 419-420.
17. Panduronga S. S. Pissurlencar, *op. cit.*, p. 529.
18. *Idem, ibidem*, pp. 529-531.
19. Júlio Firmino Júdice Biker (ed.), *Collecção de tratados e concertos de pazes que o estado da Índia Portugueza fez com os Reis e Senhores com quem teve relações nas partes da Ásia e África Oriental desde o princípio da conquista até ao fim do século XVIII*, vol. I, Lisbon, Imprensa Nacional, 1881, p. 184.
20. Panduronga S. S. Pissurlencar, *op. cit.*, p. 565 (and following); *idem, Portuguese Records on Rustom Manock*, Nova Goa, 1933.
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23. Josef Wicki, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-51 and 208-211.
24. António da Silva rego, *op. cit.*, vol. 7, p. 305.
25. Josef Wicki, *op. cit.*, pp. 173-174.
26. António da Silva Rego, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, pp. 331-333.
27. *Documenta Indica*, vol. IV, Rome, Monumenta Societatis Jesu, 1956, p. 9.
28. Josef Wicki, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-33.
29. *Idem, ibidem*, pp. 119-127.
30. *Documenta Indica, op. cit.*, vol. VIII, pp. 8, 28-29 and 40-42; Joseph Wicki, *op. cit*, pp. 216-219.
31. *Idem, ibidem*, pp. 55-56.
32. *Idem, ibidem*, pp. 178-179.
33. *Idem, ibidem*, pp. 90-93.
34. *Idem, ibidem*, pp. 195-199.
35. *Idem, ibidem*, pp. 66-70.
36. *Idem, ibidem*, p. 113.
37. *Idem, ibidem*, pp. 110-111.
38. *Idem, ibidem*, pp. 141-142.
39. *Idem, ibidem*, pp. 135-138.
40. Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Códice 203 (report on all the trials written by the inquisitor João Delgado Figueira). Since the files of the trials were burnt at the extinction of the tribunal in 1812, this is the only available account of the activity of the tribunal of Goa between 1562 and 1623, with more information than the standardised lists of *autos-da-fé*.
41. António Baião, *A Inquisição de Goa. Tentativa de história da sua origem, estabelecimento, evolução e extinção*, 2 vols., Lisbon/Coimbra, 1939-1949; Francisco Bethencourt, *História das Inquisições. Portugal, Espanha e Itália*, Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores, 1994, namely pp. 36-37, 172-173, 268-284.
42. Francisco Bethencourt, *op. cit.*, pp. 275 and 292: the estimate of the general number of ttials in Goa is based on manuscript sources, Biblioteca Nacional, codices 202, 203, and 866, IAN/TT, CGSO, Livro 462 and Maço 33. See also A. K. Priolkar, *The Goa Inquisition*, New Delhi, Voice of India, 1961; James C. Boyajiyan, "Goa inquisition -- a New Light on First 100 Years (1561-1660)", *Purabhilekh-Puratatva*, IV, January-June, 1986, pp. 1-40; *idem, Portuguese Trade in Asia under the Habsburgs, 1580-1640*, Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993; Maria de Jesus dos Mártires Lopes, "A Inquisição de Goa na segunda metade do século XVIII. Contribuição para a sua história", *Studia*, 48, 1989, pp. 237-262.
43. IAN/TT, CGSO, Livro 100, fl. 10v, 36r, 41r, 44r, 48v, 159r-v; *idem*, CGSO, Livro 462, fl. 245v-246r

44. IAN/TT, CGSO, Maço 31, nº 13; Maço 32, nº20-40; Maço 36, nº29, 33-35, 45; Maço 37, nº 37; Maço 39, nº 7; Maço 47.
45. IAN/TT, CGSO, Maço 32, nº 2.
46. IAN/TT, CGSO, Maço 33.
47. Teotónio de Souza, *Goa medieval. A cidade e o interior no século XVII*, Lisbon, Estampa, 1993, p. 111.
48. Digo do Couto, *Da Ásia. Década Décima, Parte Primeira*, Lisbon, Regia Officina Typografica, 1788, livro I, p. 48.
49. *Idem, ibidem*, p. 91.
50. S. Arasaratnam, *Ceylon and the Dutch, 1600-1800. External influences and internal change in Early Modern Sri Lanka*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 1996, p. 383.
51. Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *op. cit.*, p. 222, estimates a total of 4,903 "white *casados*" and 7,435 "black *casados*". Using the same source, I reached a similar figure for white *casados* (4,937), but a much higher one for "black *casados*" (39,055). This figure is consistent with other sources that report a high level of "black *casados*" in certain regions like Salcete.
52. António Bocarro, *Livro das plantas de todas as fortalezas, cidades e povoações do Estado da India Oriental*, ed. Isabel Cid, 3 vols., Lisbon, Imprensa Nacional, 1992.
53. The factor 10 is quite conservative, compared to the probable 15 used by Teotónio de Souza to reconstitute the population of Goa in the 17th century.
54. Matia de Jesus dos Mártires Lopes, *Goa Setecentista. Tradição e modernidade (1750-1800)*, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-86.
55. Panduronga Pissurlencar, *op. cit.*
56. I am mainly considering Goa, but there were also Muslim investors in other regions of the *Estado da India*: see Michael N. Pearson, *Merchants and Rulers in Gujarat: the Response to the Portuguese in the Sixteenth Century*, Berkeley, 1976. On Hindu bankers and investors, see also Michael N. Pearson, *Coastal Western India: Studies from the Portuguese Records*, New Delhi, Xavier Center of Historical Research, 1981.
57. Teotónio de Souza, *op. cit.*, pp. 112.
58. Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, códice 219.
59. Maria de Jesus dos Mártires Lopes, *op. cit.*, pp. 108-109.
60. J. H. da Cunha Rivara, *A conjuração de 1787 em Goa e várias cousas desse tempo. Memória histórica*, Nova Goa, Imprensa Nacional, 1875.
61. Francisco Bethencourt, "O Estado da India", in Francisco Bethencourt and Kirti Chaudhri, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, pp. 230-269; Mira Mascarenhas, "The Church in Eighteenth-century Goa", in Teotónio de Souza (ed.), *Essays in Goan History*, New Delhi, Concept Publishing Co., 1989, pp. 82-101.
62. *Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque seguidas de documentos que as elucidam*, ed. Bulhão Pato, vol. I, Lisbon, Academia Real das Ciências, 1874, pp. 27 and 338.
63. Carlos Mercês de Melo, *The Recruitment and Formation of the Native Clergy in India (16th -19th century)*, Lisbon, Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1955, p. 167.
64. Dauril Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise. The Society of Jesus in Portugal, Its Empire, and Beyond, 1540-1750*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1996, p. 258-277.
65. For a more detailed analysis of these prejudices, see Fancisco Bethencourt, ""O contacto entre povos e civilizações", in Francisco Bethencourt and Kirti Chaudhuri (eds), *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 88-110.
66. José de Acosta, *De procuranda indorum salute* (1st edition 1588), Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas, 1984, pp. 60-71.
67. *Cartas, op. cit.*, p. 27.
68. Charles R. Boxer, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire, 1600-1800*, 1st edition 1965, reprint, London,

Penguin, 1990, p. 248.

69. Jean Gelman Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia: European and Eurasian in Dutch Asia*, Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1983; Leonard Blussé, *Strange Company: Chinese settlers, mestizo women and the Dutch in VOC Batavia*, Leiden, KITLV Press, 1986.
70. Leonard Blussé, *Bitter Bonds. A Colonial Divorce Drama of the Seventeenth Century*, English Translation, Princeton, Markus Wiener, 2002.
71. William Dalrymple, *White Mughals. Love and Betrayal in Eighteenth Century India*, London, Harper Colins, 2002.
72. The best global information on mixed Dutch communities in Asia is still to be found in Charles R. Boxer, *op. cit.*, pp. 241-272.
73. Christopher Bayly, *Indian Society and the Making of the British Empire*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1988, p. 71. On the racial issue, see also Christopher Bayly, *Imperial Meridian. The British Empire and the World, 1780-1830*, London, Longman, 1989, pp. 147-155.
74. I have compared Dutch and Portuguese men and navy power in Asia in "Competição entre impérios europeus", in Francisco Bethencourt and Kirti Chaudhuri (eds.), *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 361-382, mainly p. 366-368, and again, with more detail, in "Political configurations and Local Powers", in Francisco Bethencourt and Diogo Ramada Curto (eds.), *Portuguese Oceanic Expansion, 1400-1800*, to be published by Cambridge University.
75. Délio de Mendonça, *Conversions and Citizenship. Goa under the Portuguese, 1510-1610*, New Delhi, Concept Publishing Company, 2002.

Asian Merchants and the Portuguese Trade in Asia

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In addition to major developments in the domain of renaissance, religion, and culture, the transition from the late medieval to the early modern world was marked by equally epoch-making changes in the field of economics. Probably the most wide-ranging of these was the rise of an early modern world economy facilitated by the two great maritime discoveries of the last decade of the fifteenth century – the discovery of the Americas and of the all-water route linking Europe and Asia via the Cape of Good Hope. An important element in the rise of this economy was the integration of the Indian Ocean into the larger framework of a developing world trade. Not only were the three principal segments of the early modern world economy – the New World, Europe, and Asia – now drawn into the vortex of world trade but there emerged also an organic and interactive relationship across the three segments whereby the growth of trade in one direction became critically dependent on the growth of trade in the other. The critical link was provided by the silver of South American origin, the growing availability of which became a pre-condition for the growth of the Euro-Asian trade. This was the earliest, if somewhat limited, incarnation of globalization.

Since it was the Portuguese who had discovered the Cape route, they promptly monopolized it and even asked the Pope to legitimize the arrangement. The result was that for a whole century, the only merchant group engaged in trade between Europe and Asia along the all-water route were the Portuguese. This situation, however, came to an end in the early years of the seventeenth century with the chartering of the English East India Company on the last day of the year 1600, and of the United Dutch East India Company on 20 March 1602. The last of the major European chartered monopoly trading companies engaged in Euro-Asian trade was the French East India Company founded in 1664.

This paper analyses the relationship between the Portuguese trade in Asia and the Asian merchants engaged in various branches of the Indian Ocean trade. It is useful to begin by drawing attention to the fact that this was an extraordinarily complex relationship allowing no simple propositions or answers. This complexity derived from a whole host of factors at work across both time and space. The Portuguese were admittedly the only European merchant group functioning in the Indian Ocean through the sixteenth century, but even so their presence had a multiplicity of facets. In its economic dimension, there was in the first place the official presence in the form of the Estado da India, which was supposed

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